

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 534

INFO AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMCONSUL MDAN

AMCONSUL SURABAYA

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E.O. 11652: NA

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SUBJECT: GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN -NO. 5

REF: JAKARTA 4032

1. SUMMARY: IN THE EIGHTWEEKSOF PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGNING, THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IN INDONESIA HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY CONTENTIOUS. ALTHOUGH NO FACTION BELIEVES THAT THERE IS ANY PROSPECT OF AN UPSET IN THE FINAL OUTCOME, EMOTIONS ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL ARE BEGINNING TO FRAY. CHARGES, COUNTER-CHARGES, THREATS, ANDINSULTS CHARACTERIZE THE CALIBER OF DEBATE AMONG THE CONTESTANTS. ONE GROUP IN PDI ANNOUNCED THAT IT WILL DECIDE NEXT WEEK WHETHER TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTION AT ALL. THE ISLAMIC PPP ANNOUNCED THAT IT WOULD DECLARE THE ELECTION VOID IF THERE IS ANY DECEPTION IN BALLOT COUNTING. THE ELECTION INSTITUTE HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS SEIZED 60,000 FORGED BALLOTS ALLEGEDLY PRINTED AT THE ORDER OF THE REGIONAL PPP OFFICE IN MEDAN. END SUMMARY.

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2. AFTER SIX WEEKS OF RELENTLESS PROCESSIONS AND RALLIES, CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY AHS GIVEN RISE TO INCREASING OUTBREAKS OF SMALL SCALE PHYSICAL AND VERBAL CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE SUPPORTERS OF THE TWO POLITICAL PARTIES ON ONE HAND AND GOLKAR ON THE OTHER. AN OFF-DUTY MILITARY ORGANIZATION KNOWN AS "THE BLACK FLYING FOX TROOPS"- CONSISTING OF JUNIOR MEMBERS OF THE SILIWANGI DIVISION-

REPORTEDLY CONDUCTED SEVERAL NIGHTTIME, TERRORIST-STYLE ATTACKS ON PPP CAMPAIGN PROCESSIONS IN WEST JAVA RESULTING IN NUMEROUS MINOR INJURIES. THE COMMANDER OF WEST JAVA'S SILIWANGI ARMY DIVISION HAS DESCRIBED THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE AS HEATED BUT STILL CONTROLLABLE. ON APRIL 3 IN YOGYAKARTA A SHOUTING AND SPITTING MATCH BROKE OUT BETWEEN GOLKAR AND PP SUPPORTERS, IN WHICH 27 STUDENTS SUFFERED LACERATIONS AND TWO WERE HOSPITALIZED WITH MORE SEVERE INJURIES, WHILE IN EAST JAVA, A GOLKAR PROCESSION WAS PELTED WITH ROCKS AND BOTTLES AS IT PASSED THROUGH THE ISLAMIC STRONGHOLD OF SIDUARJO. BECAUSE VEHICLES HAVE BEEN THE FOCUS OF ACCELERATED VIOLENCE, THE GENERAL ELECTION INSTITUTE IN ITS "3RD FORUM TO SETTLE CAMPAIGN DISPUTES" BANNED AUTOMOBILES AND MOTORCYCLES IN CAMPAIGN PROCESSIONS AND RALLIES THROUGHOUT JAVA.

3. VARIOUS PUBLIC OFFICIALS HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN ABOUT THE DIRECTION THAT THE CAMPAIGN IS TAKING. ON APRIL 13, GOVERNOR SUNANDAR OF EAST JAVA INDICATED DISPLEASURE THAT POLITICAL ACTIVITY HAS LED TO DISSENSION IN SOCIETY AND APPEALED TO THE POPULATION OF EAST JAVA NOT TO MAKE THE SITUATION WORSE IN THE LAST DAYS OF THE CAMPAIGN. THE VICE PRESIDENT ADVISED GOLKAR MEMBERS IN GENERAL JAVA TO BE PATIENT AND NOT TO BE PROVOKED, ADDING "YOUR HEART MAY BE HOT, BUT YOUR HEAD SHOULD STAY COOL." ANOTHER GOLKAR LEADER, ACCOMPANYING THE VICE PRESIDENT, SUGGESTED THAT PEOPLE DISTURBING GOLKAR RALLIES ARE NOT PPP OR PDI LOYALISTS BUT TERRORISTS. GOLKAR SUPPORTERS HAVE BEEN ASKED FOR THE PRESENT ONLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO TAKE NOTE OF THOSE WHO DISTURB THE CAMPAIGN BECAUSE AN ACCOUNTING WILL TAKE PLACE AFTER THE GENERAL ELECTION.

4. INTERIOR MINISTER AMIRMACHMUD HAS BEEN ALTERNATELY CHIDING THE PPP, CLAIMING GOLKAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR INDONESIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND PROFESSING, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE GENERAL ELECTION INSTITUTE, HIS NEUTRALITY IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION. ON ONE OCCASION, HE SAID QTE CAMPAIGNERS ARE NO LONGER ALLOWED TO DISCUSS RELIGION, BUT AS NEUTRAL OFFICIAL, I MAY DISCUSS RELIGION FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFORMING THE PEOPLE END QTE. THE PRO-GOLKAR NEWSPAPER BERITA YUDHA HAS BEEN RUNNING A SERIES OF PHOTOGRAPHS ON ITS FRONT PAGE WHICH PORTRAY TERRORIST ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE DARUL ISLAM REVOLT IN WEST JAVA DURING THE 1950'S, WHILE IN ONE EDITION OF THE NEWSPAPER, THE INTERIOR MINISTER WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THE FORMER DARUL ISLAM REBELS ARE NOW CAMPAIGNING FOR THE PPP.

5. THE GOI CONTINUES TO RAISE THE SPECTOR OF A
CALANDESTINE ISLAMIC ARMY BEING FORMED IN THE HINTERLAND
OF JAVA. ADMIRAL SUDOMO TOLD THE PRESS ON APRIL 6
THAT HIRED TERRORIST GROUPS HAD BEEN ARRESTED IN
SURABAYA, SOLO, AND YOGYAKARTA. LATER, INFORMATION
MINISTER MASHURI ANNOUNCED THAT INVESTIGATIONS CONDUCTED
IN EAST AND CENTRAL JAVA INDICATE THAT A PKI MEMBER HAS
ATTEMPTED TO INFLUENCE MOSLEMS IN THE CAMPAIGN BY
SETTING UP A "KOMANDO JIHAD" (HOLY WAR COMMAND).
SIXTEEN PEOPLE, MOSTLY PPP FUNCTIONARIES, HAVE BEEN
REPORTED DETAINED IN SEMARANG IN CONNECTION WITH THE
INVESTIGATION OF KOMANDO JIHAD. FORMER TEMPO
JOURNALIST SYAHRIR WAHAB HAS BEEN ARRESTED IN JAKARTA
AND CHARGED WITH BEING A MEMBER OF KOMANDO JIHAD AND
POSSESSING STATE SECRETS. FURTHER CONFUSING MATTERS,
THE INTERIOR MINISTER ANNOUNCED THAT 60,000 FORGED VOTING
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PERMITS HAD BEEN SEIZED IN NORTH SUMATRA. (THE PRO-
GOLKAR NEWSPAPER ANGKATAN BERSENJATA CLAIMS THAT AN
OFFICIAL OF THE LOCAL PPP BRANCH IN MEDAN HAS ADMITTED
RESPONSIBILITY.)

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6. POST-ELECTION VOTE-COUNTING PROCEDURES HAVE ALSO GIVEN RISE TO CAMPAIGN QUARRELS. ACCORDING TO PPP AND PDI SPOKESMEN, AMIRMACHMUD HAS UNILATERALLY REVOKED "PREVIOUS AGREEMENTS" BETWEEN GOLKAR AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES PROVIDING THAT IMMEDIATELY AFTER VOTERS CAST THEIR VOTES ON MAY 2, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE THREE CONTENDING PARTIES AT POLLING BOOTHS WERE TO SIGN ELECTION FORM C-1A ATTESTING THE TOTALS. ACCORDING TO PPP, THE REFUSAL TO PERMIT WITNESS SIGNATURES OPENS THE DOOR TO SUBSEQUENT FALSIFICATION OF ELECTION DOCUMENTS BY LCOAL ELECTION COUNCILS WHICH CONSIST ONLY OF GOVERNMENT, I.E., GOLKAR, REPRESENTATIVES. THE ELECTION INSTITUTE REPORTED THAT NO FORMAL AGREEMENT HAD EVER BEEN REASCHED, AND IN ANY CASE, PARTY REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE PERMITTED TO WITNESS THE BALLOT-COUNTING, AND WOULD PRESUMABLY HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO NOTE DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE VOTE COUNT AND TOTALS RECORDED ON FORM C-1A. PREVIOUS TO THIS ACTION, A PPP SPOKEMAN HAD STATED THAT THE PARTY WOULD DECLARE THE ELCTION VOID IF IT LEARNED OF ANY DECEPTION IN THE COUNTING OF BALLOTS.

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7. BANDUNG PDI LEADERS ANNOUNCED THAT THE PRTY WILL DECIDE AT A REEVALUATION MEETING APRIL 17-24 WHETHER IT IS GOIN TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GENERAL ELCTION AT ALL. WHEN ASKED WHAT PROMPTED THIS DEVELOPMENT, BANDUNG PDI CHAIRMAN T.A.M. SIMATUPANG REPLIED QTE. THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN DISPLAYS SYMPTOMS OF OPPRESSION SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE 1971 GENERAL ELCTION". AMCONSUL MEDAN REPORTS THAT THE PDI IN NORTH SUMATRA IS BEARING THE BRUNT OF GOLKAR HARRASSMENT. DESTRUCTION OF CAMPAIGN POSTERS AND POLICE INTERROGATION OF CANDIDATES AND PARTY MEMBERS IN RIAU AND TAPANULI HAS STIFLED PDI RECRUITMENT OF CAMPAIGN WORKERS.

8. STUDENT ACTIVISM IN THE CAMPAIGN HAS RECEIVED MORE ATTENTION IN THE PRESS RECENTLY. STUDENT INVESTIGATION COMMITTEES HAVE BEEN FORMED IN WEST JAVA, WHILE STUDENTS IN EAST JAVA HAVE SPONSORED RALLIES TO COMMEMORATE THOSE INJURED IN CAMPAIGN FRACASES, AND FIVE STUDENT COUNCILS THERE HAVE ISSUED A JOINT STATEMENT ASKING THE GOVERNEMNT TO PUBLISH INVESTIGATION RESULTS OF CAMPAIGN INCIDENTS. DEPUTY INTELLIGENCE CHIEF ALI MURTOPO HAS LABELLED THE ANIT-IGNORANCE MOVEMENT, SET UP BY 22 WEST JAVA STUDENT COUNCILS, STUPID. PRESIDENT SUHARTO SAID THAT HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE MOVEMENT WHEN THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN BUILDING TENS

OF THOUSANDS OF SCHOOLS AND APPOINTING TENS OF THOUSANDS OF TEACHERS. INDICATIVE OF THE ANTI-GOVERNEMENT BIAS OF RECENT STUDENT ACTIVISM ARE REPEATED MENTION OF THE PALAPA AND BANK BUMI DAY AFFAIRS AND THE CALL FOR A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION OF THE PERTAMINA PROBLEM. THE PPP AND PDI HAVE RESPONDED TO THIS FAVORABLE CLIMATE BY HOLDING DIALOGUES WITH YOUTH GROUPS AT CONVENTIO AND CAMPUS CENTERS IN JAKARTA AND BANDUNG. INJUNCTIONS AGAINST POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON CAMPUS ARE CIRCUMVENTED BY REFERRING TO CAMPAIGNERS ON CAMPUS AS GUEST LECTURERS.

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9. COMMENT: WITH ONE WEEK OF SANCTIONED CAMPAIGN REMAINING, MUD-SLINGING AND SPORADIC VIOLENCE HAVE INCREASED. THE IMPRESSIONISTIC VIEW FROM THERE IS THAT THIS VIOLENCE IS A CONSEQUENCE OF OVER-ENTHUSIASM ON THE PART OF LESS SOPHISTICATED PARTY SUPPORTERS IN RURAL AREAS AND THAT, ASIDE FROM SOME OF THE KOMANDO JIHAD ARRESTS, ACTS OF COERCION HAVE NOT BEEN THE RESULT OF ANY CENTRALLY ORGANIZED CAMPAIGN OF REPRESSION. WHEN THE PPP HELD ITS FINAL RALLY IN JAKARTA, APRIL 18, CAMPAIGN TRUCKS AND BUSES DELAYED TRAFFIC FOR HOURS IN ALL PARTS OF THE CITY BUT THE DAY'S EVENTS ENDED WITHOUT SERIOUS INCIDENT.

NEWSOM

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